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## SWOLLEN FORTUNES



A POLITICIAN hears and echoes what is on the lips of the people; a statesman feels and utters what is in their hearts.

When, last spring, Mr. Roosevelt delivered the first of the two sentences here quoted, his audience held more than a sprinkling of agents of the plutocracy in both houses of Congress and in the executive departments, creatures of the political machines, which have become the creatures of "swollen" and swelling fortunes.

They had assembled expecting to hear him denounce those who were exposing the cause of the one ever deeper and blacker shadow across the path of national democratic progress. Instead of enjoying themselves, they sat aghast before a boldly proclaimed proposal of attack more effective than any up-piling of angry adjectives. For here was the President of the United States, the chief of the party which, because so long in power, has been prey to the artful and successful machinations of the big corruptors—here was he, not indulging in the familiar futility of twisting the monster's tail, but calmly proposing to cut off its head! Highly amusing were the comments of Senators, Representatives, party leaders, to the reporters who eagerly sought them out. Those of his own party did not dare attack their chief or confess their consternation. A few did venture to suggest that it was simply another case of "loose talk from Teddy." Possibly they all believed this—for it is difficult for men to realize that one may have a cool head behind an impetuous manner, may be voluble and vehement and also astute. Even the wisest of us are superficial in our judgments of our fellow-men; and Roosevelt's teeth and explosive speech cover securely the far-sightedness evidenced in the conduct of his brilliant career. The politicians could not understand why Mr. Roosevelt should have made these "socialistic" declarations. Was not the country prosperous? Were not the people content with the existing order?

Then, in October, came the Harrisburg speech. In April Mr. Roosevelt had used a vague, remote "ultimately"; in October he showed that he believed "ultimately" had arrived, for he said, "It is our clear duty." And he talked boldly of "swollen fortunes." That adjective "swollen"! It means only the abnormal, the diseased. Nothing healthy, however large, is "swollen." The President of the United States, the chief of the party of the "safe, sane and conservative," had publicly declared that these vast singly-owned accumulations of wealth were not the products of the industrial captain's genius, but were "swollen," were disease. There was no mistaking the President's meaning or purpose. His "loose talk" was deliberate. The first and dominant paragraph in the Roosevelt program was to be dealing directly with the problem of concentrated wealth. And his latest message to Congress proves without doubt that he is thoroughly in earnest.

Nothing could be falser or sillier than to describe President Roosevelt's voicing of American public sentiment on the subject of concentrated wealth as voicing the envy of the House of Have Not for the House of Have. The American people are singularly free from envy, most generously admiring the prosperity of those who work and deserve. It is not the wealth that flows from work and deserts that disturbs the American people. It is the unearned fortune; it is the stolen fortune; it is the "swollen" fortune. It is the wealth that is being corruptly used both

to increase itself and, worse still, to constrict the area of progressive prosperity. To be prosperous by honest, intelligent work, to be able to surround one's self with comfort, to raise one's family's standard of living—that is civilization, is American. And the future of the Republic and of its people depends upon the continuance and the spread of the American ambition to "get on." But to prosper by fraud and theft, and to use

### How Shall a Menace to Our Institutions be Curbed Without Injustice to Legitimate Interests or Injury to Honest Business?

### BY DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS

We shall ultimately have to consider the adoption of some such scheme as that of the progressive tax on all fortunes beyond a certain amount, either given in life or devised or bequeathed upon death to any individual—a tax so framed as to put it out of the power of the owner of one of these enormous fortunes to hand on more than a certain amount to any individual. — President Roosevelt's Speech at Washington, April 13, 1906.

In the near future our national legislators should enact a law providing for a graduated inheritance tax. . . . The pro rata of the tax should increase very heavily with the increase of the amount left to any one individual after a certain point has been reached. . . . At first a permanent national inheritance tax . . . need not approximate . . . to what such a tax should ultimately be. — President Roosevelt's Message to the Congress, December 4, 1906.

the ill-gotten gains in vain show, and in seducing public officials, and in tempting or compelling one's fellow-men to become one's dependents—that is

not civilization, but barbarism—all the vices of savagery minus its virtues of sturdiness and courage. America has meant work and progress, not chicane and degenerating luxury. And the steady, reflective gaze of the American people at "swollen fortunes" is not the gaze of envy, but of determination that alleged

property rights shall not be invoked to enable those rich by violating real property rights to destroy the Republic. There can be no right, natural or artificial, that would compel us to harbor in our national system those great tapeworm fortunes. A tapeworm cannot get a "vested right."

What is our problem of concentrated wealth? Mr. Roosevelt has compacted the whole of it into the two sentences we have quoted:

First—Enormous, swollen fortunes.

Second—The use of those fortunes to narrow independent opportunity, to monopolize industry, to raise prices and lower incomes, to manufacture a few thousand millionaires out of millions of men and a few billionaires out of the millionaires.

Third—The use of those fortunes to control political machinery and, so, both the making and the administration of the law.

Fourth—The creating of conditions of dishonesty in business which make it increasingly difficult for an honest man to compete without resort to the same doubtful methods as are used by his powerful competitors.

Fifth—The passing on of the swollen fortunes by will in block, to be an increasing menace both to public and to private life—to operate passively in increasing the number of dependent wage-earners and decreasing the number of independent families; to be used actively by unscrupulous operators in making all the channels of prosperity empty into the swollen treasuries of the already vastly rich.

And Mr. Roosevelt proposes that, while nothing shall be done to discourage the honest accumulation of wealth, or the full play of legitimate private enterprise, swollen accumulation and cutthroat private enterprise shall not be permitted to debauch and debase us industrially and politically and socially. It is difficult to say which are the more irritated by his proposals—the hidebound plutocrats or the hidebound socialists. The plutocrats shriek that he is attacking property rights; the extreme socialists wail that he is bolstering up

property rights just when the plutocrats in their gluttony were destroying them. Those not committed to either party take the calmer view—that he has shrewdly put himself in the van for the obvious next move in our advance from the present social system to one less imperfect, less clumsy, more just. And of the many clumsy features of that system, the scheme of vast inheritance is about the clumsiest. What could be more incongruous in a democracy, based upon the idea of the highest and freest development of each individual, upon the nobility and the necessity of work, upon the intrinsic merit of each individual without reference to family or social "pull"—what could be more incongruous than permitting a few parents to upset the whole democratic system by founding lines of millionaires by birth?

It is most significant of the rapidly awakening and swiftly spreading intelligence of our day that Mr. Roosevelt, expert in practical politics that he is, should have found the time ripe. So new is our problem of concentrated wealth, in the perilously immortal corporate form, that so few years ago as when he went to study at Harvard it was a cloud on the far horizon, no bigger than a man's hand, and seen only by the extremely



farsighted. Fifteen years ago an income tax seemed to many about all that was necessary to wipe out the unnatural iniquities. Only since 1896, when the plutocracy's great manufactories of stocks, bonds, combines and holding companies opened out to "take care of" the revived prosperity, has the menace of swollen fortunes attracted the attention of Americans not blinded by prejudices.

### Conditions Before the War

BEFORE the Civil War the South was much the richest section of this country. The average wealth of the Southern white was more than double that of the Northern white. The South's wealth was not scattered as was the wealth of the North in those days, but was concentrated just as is the wealth of the whole country to-day, just as the wealth of any country is certain to be, unless the laws see to it that wealth shall be the reward of honest work only. Two-thirds of the white families of the South had no slaves; two-thirds of the slaveholders had but one-fifth of the slaves; one-third of the slaveholders held four-fifths of the slaves. We know now that, had there been no Civil War, long ere this the rapidly impoverishing white masses of the South would have been arrayed against the small and arrogant slaveocracy. Appeal to sectional spirit alone enabled the slaveocracy to make a war to perpetuate itself. It will be interesting to see upon what sort of demagogic appeal the plutocracy's able lawyer-orators and politicians will finally elect to base its coming struggle to perpetuate itself. Happily, that appeal cannot be sectional; for the deepest poverty is next neighbor to the greatest wealth, and farmer and small merchant of richest New York State suffer as keenly from the congestion of wealth as do farmer and small merchant of Kansas, Texas or California.

In the North, before the War, two-thirds of the national wealth was on the farms, and about two-thirds of the property was in holdings of less than \$5000. In some of the Eastern cities there were a few rich families; America inherited her property laws from a Europe that knew nothing of equal justice, and under those laws wealth was concentrating, though the process was slow. But those rich families of our earlier and more equal days would be regarded as most modestly rich nowadays, though then they were spoken of as Croesuses. Throughout the country, even in the South—the romancers to the contrary notwithstanding—the mode of life was simple, provincial. Europe had not yet sent us, along with many stimulating ideas of an older civilization, the stupid and vulgar passion for barbaric show and weak-minded splurge which has everywhere and in all time characterized the superficially refined and educated but essentially coarse and miseducated aristocracies of the human race. Indeed, only within fifteen years has the craze for palaces and liveried retinues and class distinctions shown itself boldly; as yet it is almost wholly confined to New York and a few near-by cities.

### The Origin of American Plutocracy

WHILE the flaunting of the plutocracy socially, industrially and politically is thus recent, the plutocracy's origin goes back to the Civil War. That War overthrew the slaveocracy; it set up the plutocracy. The expenses of the War—the big bond issues, the fluctuating paper currency, the vast Government contracts, the creation of a vast floating and impoverished population through the unsettling of the ordinary routine of life and through the dispersal of the great armies at the end of the War—these and kindred occurrences gave men of unscrupulous audacity their opportunity. There accumulated in the hands of several groups of aggressive capitalists the masses of capital and the credit abroad necessary to begin the conquest of the industries of the country. These industrial leaders did undoubtedly greatly aid in the development of the country. But they combined two distinct functions—helpful developers and harmful appropriators of what they aided in developing. It was like the able bank president who is also robbing the bank. The confusion about the real status of these financial and industrial leaders has arisen because some people think only of their work as developers while others think only of their misdeeds. In fact, they did more than balance the good they did, and the American people owe them nothing—just as the French people owed Napoleon nothing for having beat off the invader, because he seized the country he had saved and reduced its people to imperial slavery.

Naturally, the struggle for the control of America's vast resources and the industries built upon them has centered about the means of communication. Railway and telegraph and telephone are to the modern world what the caravan road was to the ancient world. Who could establish a toll-gate on the

caravan road became rich; who have established toll-gates—the toll-gates of minority control, holding company, stock and bond watering, and the like—upon the modern highways have become, not merely rich, but literally swollen with wealth. To look into the history of the swollen fortunes of the country, even those whose innocent origin is the boast of their inheriting possessors, is to learn that Solomon knew what he was talking about when he said, "He that hasteth to be rich shall not be innocent." "Swollen" is not too harsh an adjective to characterize these vast private accumulations. And we find that full as often as the accumulators of these masses of wealth did anything toward developing the country, they exerted themselves to retard development until they could get the lion's share of the proceeds; and, where they did aid, they exacted for their services pay that would make the extortionate usurer sick with envy—pay for themselves, and the grant of rights to tax vast populations in perpetuity. Stolen or corruptly bought franchises, grabbed public lands, squeezed and strangled small capitalists and merchants, secret rebates, inside rings, subsidiary or "milking" corporations to filch from the main and widely owned corporations, "reorganized" railroads, manipulated stock and bond markets—could impudence farther go than to characterize Mr. Roosevelt's restrained proposals as to these "swollen" fortunes as an "attack upon property rights"?

### Where the Money Was and Is

FOR many years now Government statistics have been used to prove that this disease, developing, becoming malignant, does not exist. And so eager are Americans to hope for the best, to look only on the bright side of things, that the jugglers have had great success. The Joe Cannons and the Chauncey Depews have been cheered loudly as they rolled off the stupendous figures of national totals of production and wealth, and the wage tables and savings-bank exhibits. But the developments of the past few years have forced the people to feel the truth which the political propagandists of demagogic optimism have tried to prevent them from seeing. The notion that while a few have been getting very rich, everybody willing to work has been getting rich, or at least well off, will not stand examination. The problem to which Mr. Roosevelt calls attention is no mere exhalation from his or any one's superheated brain.

In 1850 we had a population nearly ninety per cent. of which was rural and only ten per cent. urban. As two-thirds of the national wealth was in farms and farm property, this meant a fairly equitable distribution of the wealth between city and country. Of course, there were great inequalities in the country, as in the city; but, except in the slave States, the inequalities were nowhere glaring, and to be propertyless meant, as a rule, laziness or incompetence. To-day, as between city and country, while more than two-thirds (sixty-nine per cent.) of the population is still rural, farms and farm property—the only possessions owned to any extent by our rural population—constitute much less than one-fourth of the national wealth—that is, three-fourths of the national wealth is owned in the cities, where is only one-fourth of the population. The per-capita figures are: country wealth, less than \$1000 per capita; city wealth, nearly \$1400 per capita. But per-capita figures are misleading in one vitally important respect: it must be noted that there are great inequalities in the holding of rural wealth. Of nearly twelve million persons engaged in agriculture, less than half own anything that could be called property. But to a great extent the Southern negroes, farm laborers almost all, are responsible for this unhappy showing. East and West and border States, our rural white population as a whole is about on a level of modestly moderate prosperity, the farm owner living a little better than his hands, but having anxieties that keep him from uppishness. Our average white farmer is not well off, is almost what would be, and in America the rich should be, called poor; but he is well above the bread-line. The comparative figures for the last four censuses show that he is nearer that line than he was thirty years ago. Still his lot is slightly above the average American lot nowadays. That is why he is so slowly learning how much worse off he is than he would be if there weren't so many toll-gates both on his way to and on his way from his market. The people are so patient, and so hopeful.

Clearly, however, the figures show that, as between city and country, there is indisputably a congestion of

wealth toward the cities. How do matters stand within the cities? A glance of the eye as one goes about any city in any part of the country is enough to disclose appalling inequalities. A large, densely-populated quarter of poor people; a small quarter where live the well-to-do; a tiny but splendid quarter where live the rich. And in the great cities there is now still another and even smaller and grandiose quarter where live the enormously rich. The statistics confirm the impression from the surface of things. The death returns show that about two-thirds of the inhabitants of our cities die propertyless. The great mass of our city dwellers make a bare living, die with only a few personal belongings. We found that the bulk of the nation's wealth was in the cities and towns. Going to them, we find that it is still further congested, that it is concentrated toward a small class. Now here are the interesting and instructive statistical facts of the situation, city and country together:

Our national wealth is \$106,000,000,000.

There are 18,000,000 families, an average of just under six thousand dollars per family.

But less than 200,000 families own nearly fifty billions of the one hundred and six billions; less than 2,000,000 families own thirty billions more; of the remaining sixteen million families, one-half are worth on the average between two and three thousand dollars, and the other half have less than five hundred dollars.

And it is upon the sixteen million families that the enormous burden of our taxes, both the lawful and the unlawful, falls almost entirely. They are the families that live on wages and salaries, and the profits from little farms and businesses, that feel most keenly the rises in prices, that suffer acutely, though unconscious of the cause, from the extortions of the Wall Street manufacturers of dead weights of "securities" which cause prices to soar, wages to rise only haltingly, and keep incomes close to the actual cost of living.

Again, of the total national income, *one-half* goes to *one-tenth* of the people; the other half is divided among the remaining nine-tenths. Of the total national wealth more than seven-eighths is owned by less than one per cent. of the population, leaving but *one-eighth* of the wealth for the remaining *ninety-nine per cent.*

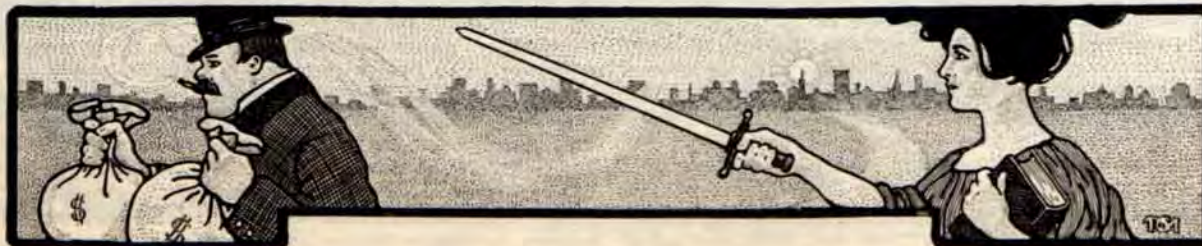
### Monopoly and Unequal Taxation the Causes

HERE are conditions that are literally absurd. To say that this result from the toil and skill of the American people, developing their vast resources since the Civil War, is natural and just is to fly in the face of common-sense. The American people are most industrious and are, as a whole, superior in skill to any other nation. Clearly their industry and skill must have been somehow misdirected. And this self-evident proposition is further proved by the fact that an enormous part of this congested wealth is in the hands of families who are not industrious, and not skillful—except at squash and riding to hounds, "bridge" and driving four-in-hands, and making titled foreigners feel at home in democratic America. Seven-eighths of the wealth for one per cent. of the population; ninety-nine per cent. of the population with only one-eighth of the wealth. Seventy-five millions of our eighty-five million people with less than four hundred dollars' worth of property of any kind, on the average. It is unthinkable that progress should continue if these conditions continue. The next census will undoubtedly show that wealth has still further and enormously congested. Already barely half of our children of school and high-school age attend school. Already we have at least two million child laborers in mines and factories.

Immigration plays but a small part in causing this. So vast are our natural resources that, had we ten times our present population, there would be, under any sane system of production and distribution, enough and to spare for all. The determining causes are monopoly and unequal taxation. Mr. Roosevelt's program includes attacks upon both—the enforcement of the laws against the price-lifters and wage-depressors; the passing of laws to restrain the controllers of the congested wealth from using it still further to congest wealth and diffuse poverty. The enforcement of existing laws will no longer suffice. The plutocracy has got too great a start; it has not only capitalized for its private benefit our present prosperity; it has anticipated the future. If to-day all chicanery in making money were abruptly and finally stopped, still the congestion would remain, would continue rapidly to aggravate. Plutocracy is not an approaching menace, as it was fifteen or twenty years ago; it is an existing condition. The resources of the country have been mortgaged in perpetuity, and the mortgage is held by a small class.

Take our railway systems for example. The

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(Concluded from Page 4)

total capitalization heaped upon them is not far from twenty billions. Railway bookkeeping is one of the very highest developments of the efforts of modern business to conceal the truth; yet even on the face of the books the railways showed last year net earnings of seven hundred and eighty millions. The total of actual investment in our railway systems is much less than six billions, the rest of the twenty billions being water. Seven hundred and eighty millions is thirteen per cent. on six billions, is just under twenty per cent. on four billions—and four billions is about the sum that would be needed to reproduce our entire railway system. Thirteen to twenty per cent. per annum, when under court rulings a fair return for capital invested in public service corporations is four per cent. at the outside! This means that on the showing of their own books the railway rings tax the people unjustly from five hundred and forty to six hundred and twenty millions a year. The gross earnings of the railways were last year two billions, three hundred millions. So the unjust tax is not less than \$30 a family, for the whole population, toward the maintenance of the plutocracy; and it is probably about \$50 a family. This is only one of many such extortionate, sly, indirect taxes. Is it surprising that the income of the average American family is now below \$500 a year?

It is often said that the stocks and bonds of the manipulated corporations controlling the machinery of our civilization are very widely held among our people; one reads that the Steel Trust has nearly fifty thousand stockholders, the Sugar Trust about twelve thousand, this railroad a hundred thousand, the other seventy-five thousand, and so on. It is true there are many people of modest means who hold a share or so, or ten or a dozen shares. But the bulk of these tax licenses are held in great blocks, and if one were to have lists of all the stock and bond holders by enterprises, he would find that they were duplicates. The same few thousand families are chief owners in all the enterprises.

## Vast Fortunes Without Excuse

There was a time when it could be truly said that the breaking up of wealth into small parcels made great enterprises difficult. But this is no longer true. The development of the corporation and of the long-term mortgage bond makes it easy for capital to be massed anywhere and for any length of time, no matter how widely its ownership may be distributed. The greatest single accumulations of free private capital are the assets of the big life-insurance companies, and these are contributed by millions of persons scattered over the whole earth. In France, where there are no enormous fortunes and few accumulations beyond a hundred thousand dollars or so, any hopeful enterprise can easily get all the capital it wants, or any established enterprise in need of more money. There is not a single public advantage that can be put forward in defense of vast private fortunes. Enterprising men are enterprising not because they hope to be millionaires a hundred times over, but because they take to enterprise as a fish takes to water. Most of the vigorous, aggressive leaders in industry to-day are men working on salary for the owners or the managers of the great masses of wealth. As for the enterprises undertaken by men already in possession of "swollen" fortunes, how many of those exploits are other than direct assaults upon the property and the independence of the people? They are for the most part vast and too often successful attempts to monopolize a branch of industry, to saddle it with heavy fixed charges. What our financiers call "developing" a property is too often in reality the ending of its development by making it a mere dividend and interest machine, without growth, without enthusiasm, and cold to new ideas and new inventions. The influence of the swollenly rich controllers of the great corporations upon politics need not be more than referred to here. The facts are notorious. We all know that the great plutocrats have more influence at our State capitals and at our national capital than all the rest of the people—an influence that is steady, stealthy, subtle, almost always successful.

Even if it were good for the possessors of "swollen fortunes" to have them, the greatest good of the greatest number forbids. Diffusion of wealth is not only wise, it is just; it is not only just and wise, it is also vital to the welfare of the nation. Concentration of wealth means injustice, destruction of manhood and womanhood, spreading corruption in public and private life. So long as wealth means power—power that compounds as the size of the fortune increases—just so long can no nation afford to have its wealth either

controlled by a few or owned by a few—especially a few who have never earned, but have simply by accident inherited. Man was not made for property, but property for man. The way to maintain property rights, which are the bulwark of our civilization, certainly is not by permitting property to pass into the hands of a few, with the masses propertyless.

Editor's Note—This is the first of a series of articles on Swollen Fortunes, the most important problem now before the people. The articles will be written by various authorities and will present all sides of the question.

## The Bowery's Elder Brother

THE biggest bank in New York is one never mentioned in mergers or underwriting. It is a mile and a half from Wall Street, and a thousand miles from High Finance. Its money never goes kiting around looking for forty per cent. call loans, nor is the Treasury implored to help it import gold from Europe. Two years ago, to be sure, it got into the news in rather a prominent way, for it had a run.

Rumor flashed over the East Side one night, and next morning hundreds were waiting for this bank to open. Before the day was out the police had enough to do to keep excited people in line. But the people only wanted to put money in. A half per cent. higher dividend had just been declared on deposits.

This is the Bowery Savings Bank. Its assets are now over \$105,000,000. About one dollar in every eleven held by savings banks in the State is in the Bowery, and one dollar in every thirty-five throughout the country. One savings institution in the world is larger—the postal banks of Great Britain.

The Bowery got a new president four years ago. A good man was wanted for exacting duties, and the trustees picked him from among themselves in William H. S. Wood, who had been a trustee thirty years. In 1804 a young Quaker, Samuel Wood, set up a small publishing business in Pearl Street. It passed to his son William, and then to his grandson, who is William H. S. The latter had been successful as a medical publisher. More sons were coming up in the business. When they proposed to elect him president of the Bowery he said, "Pshaw!—Wasn't it about time a man retired and enjoyed himself?" But the trustees persuaded him to try it just one year. They knew that as soon as he went into the job his interest in the bank's 150,000 depositors would keep him there. It has.

The full grandeur of the Steel Trust was then beginning to sink into the mind of the people. Millionaires landed from Pittsburgh on every train. Frenzied finance had not been explained. United States Shipbuilding was coming on as a glorious sequel to Steel. The country was such a success that even the East Side's imagination took fire. The hordes around Grand Street, roughly classified on the spot as "Yidds, Huns and Ginnies"—the men who ran pushcarts and small shops, the women who carried stacks of coats on their heads—these caught the High Finance idea. Among the thousands who came to the Bowery Bank daily to put in money or take it out would be an occasional person dressed in his most festive clothes who wanted nearly all he had on deposit. His accumulation might be only a few hundred, but the extent of his draft showed that something big was afoot.

The president usually signs every check. When a big one came along, the draft-clerks were directed to ask the depositor what was proposed to be done with the money. If the answer was "Buy stocks," that depositor was invited back into the new president's office. Of course, what any man did with his money was none of the president's business, the new president himself explained, but then followed a kindly talk on finance at its higher temperatures. Many a depositor put his money back and went home to don his working clothes. Thus many and many a dollar that might have gotten badly shrunk and warped in Wall Street is in the Bowery yet.

In time the epidemic passed, like whooping cough. Securities are dull in that neighborhood now. But other maladies break out from time to time. The bank

has just passed through the real-estate fever, created the past year by some excessively optimistic New York editors. Free excursion trains to the bad lands of Long Island have been crowded Sundays. Hundreds of savings deposits have been put down on the black, or the red, forty and fifty miles away. Fatherly talks about real estate have safeguarded the depositors of the Bowery to a large extent. Then there is the racing fever, which we have always with us, and which is hardest to cure, President Wood says. For men who have unmistakable sense see opportunities to make big, sudden money on the ponies, and the worst feature of the disease is that occasionally some of them do make it. But tactful advice helps even in this disorder.

President Wood is safe, sane and conservative. Yet he has struck out on lines that are new for this staid old institution. Advertising is one. Banking by mail is another. He wants his bank to grow, and grow, and grow. It has gained ten millions since he took charge. But his idea is far from mere bigness. Deep down in his Quaker nature somewhere is a something that causes him genuine worry whenever a dollar belonging to a man who worked hard for it is deposited outside of New York State, with its restricted savings banks. There may be safe banks elsewhere—but you can't tell. So he tries to turn all the proletariat's money toward Grand Street and the Bowery.

Some of his devices have been ingenious. Every summer thousands of actor-folk come to New York to "sign on." The actor's financial acumen is a joke, and walking ties a tradition. President Wood started in to interest the Rialto in simple finance. He talked to it in leaflets. He provided envelopes for mailing the surplus on salary-day. He showed the blessedness of being able to draw for railroad fare if salary-day dropped off the calendar. This idea took slowly at the start. The women saw it first. But now the Bowery safeguards many a dollar earned in vaudeville, musical comedy and the ten-twenty-third'. The president doesn't like to talk about this, though, lest some wicked trust company melt his Rialto nest-eggs into that golden calf, call-money.

President Wood is a type of man not uncommon in New York State, and the remarkable thing about the whole type is that a simple law should harness so many of that sort in the community's service. Compared with benefiting the community by managing a life-insurance company, there is nothing in it.

Trustees draw no salaries. The State had thirty years' work free from William H. S. by the time he thought he ought to retire.

There are fifty-five other savings banks in New York City, among them the Emigrant with nearly a hundred millions, and the Seaman's with seventy-five millions. They hold a total of \$1,000,000,000 for 1,800,000 depositors. The law that governs them swept away forever unsafe conditions and put into the hands of men like this a work that some call philanthropic, some eleemosynary. President Wood calls it altruistic. They give to this work most of their time, and receive little—what is made goes to depositors.

Were it not for the savings-bank law, few of them would touch Finance with a hop-pole. When banks in less provident communities are broken and looted, such men and such institutions make the clamor for postal banks seem peevish.

—J. H. C.

## A Christmas Gift

Which Comes Fifty-Two Times

Have you ever considered the value of a Christmas Gift that is a constant reminder of the giver for an entire year? Can you think of a present which, at an expense of \$1.50, will give more pleasure than a year's subscription to

## THE SATURDAY EVENING POST

Such a gift only COMMENCES on Christmas. It continues each week for an



At the discretion of

We have entered your name upon our list for a year's subscription to THE SATURDAY EVENING POST. We hope that the copies we shall have the pleasure of mailing will prove to be pleasant reminders of the friend who sends this holiday remembrance.

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entire year—really fifty-two presents. We have designed a beautiful Christmas card, printed in many colors, to be sent to each person for whom a subscription is so ordered. The card will bear the name of the giver.

Be sure to give us your own name as well as that of the recipient.

The card is not a premium. It is just an announcement, to be sent to persons for whom subscriptions are ordered as Christmas presents, and can be used only in that way.

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